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FARTHER PARTICULARS

REGARDING

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS WORKS.

IN A LETTER TO

THE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

FROM

J. PAYNE COLLIER, F.S.A.

LONDON:

THOMAS RODD,

GREAT NEWPORT STREET, LONG ACRE

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INTRODUCTION.

It is hardly necessary to say more than that the impression of this tract has been limited to fifty copies. My chief object has been to render permanent such farther information as I have obtained in connection with our great dramatist and his productions.

The plays particularly illustrated in the succeeding pages are *The Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, Cymbeline, Pericles,* and *The Tempest.* Others are incidentally noticed.

J. P. C.

FARTHER PARTICULARS

REGARDING

SHAKESPEARE AND HIS WORKS.

My Dear Sir,

Although I have reason to think that the general readers of Shakespeare care less about particulars regarding him and his works, and about matters connected with our early stage-history, than I imagined some years ago, yet I venture upon the publication (if the word can apply to so very limited an impression) of a third Letter, intended to illustrate a few more of the plays of our great dramatist. I give myself the pleasure of addressing it to you, because I feel confident it will give you pleasure to receive it. I run no risk of wearying you with the results of my farther inquiries, persevered in amid the toils of a far different kind; and I am sure that, however minute may be the scraps of additional information I supply, they will be welcomed by you as interesting, if not valuable, contributions to our present scanty stock of knowledge.

I shall begin with an extract from a work, printed nearly two centuries ago, containing a notice of

Shakespeare not hitherto adverted to by any person who has written concerning either his life or productions. The notice is not much in itself, but still you will admit that it deserves some attention in forming an estimate of character and conduct. All I contend for is that it ought not to be passed over, and had some of our commentators met with it, they would have been as likely as any body to give it more prominence than it deserves.

The work in which it is found is of such rarity that I do not recollect to have heard of any other copy than the one from which I make my quotation. Its title runs thus:—"Jocabella, or a Cabinet of Conceits—Whereunto are added Epigrams and other poems by R. C., &c. London, printed by R. Hodgkinson, &c. 1640." 12mo.* The initials on the title-page appear, by the dedication to Mr. John Wild, to be those of Robert Chamberlain, no doubt the person who was author of a play called *The Swaggering Damsel,* printed in the same year as *Jocabella.* The "conceits" in this small "cabinet" are 459, and each is separately numbered. The following is

"391.

"One asked another what Shakespeare's workes were worth, all being bound together: hee answered, not a far-

* It has also an engraved title-page, "J. R. fecit," representing Mercury and the three Fates, with this couplet underneath:—

"The feathered God doth by his mirth betray
The fatall huswifes of our lives to play."

thing. Not worth a farthing, said he, why so? He answered, that his playes were worth a great deale of money, but he never heard that his workes were worth any thing at all."

It must be owned that this is a very poor "conceit," and it would hardly be worth reprinting, if it related to any person but Shakespeare.* After Ben Jonson had published the first folio of his "Works" in 1616, he was laughed at, as you may remember, for dignifying his "Plays" by the name of "Works," and it is remarkable that this "conceit" on Shakespeare and his "Works" was produced in the year when the general title-page of Ben Jonson's "second" folio "volume" bears date, though the contents range between 1631 and 1641. "Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies," had been pre-

* My excuse for extracting the two following depends upon the extreme scarcity of the volume and the topics to which they relate. The one illustrates a notorious passage in *Hudibras*, and the last refers to the custom before the Restoration for boys or young men to act women's parts on the stage.

"69.

"A gentleman going to take horse was observed to have but one spur, and being asked the reason, answered that if he could make one side of his horse to goe, he made no question but the other side would goe along with it."

"122.

"A gentleman meeting a stage-player in a sicknes time, who had formerly plaid women's parts, told him he was growne grave, and that he began to have a beard: the other answered, while the grasse growes the horse did starve; meaning, because there was then no playing, and therefore he did let his beard grow."

viously printed collectively, as every body is aware, in 1623 and 1632, but they are nowhere called his "Works." However, this was necessary for the "conceit," which has a different point, and evidently alludes to what is usually understood by works, or the actions of a man's life. It is certainly not a laudatory tribute, and how much weight it may deserve in reference to the moral conduct of our great poet is another matter. It seems in some sort to couple itself with an anecdote I printed in my "History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," on the authority of the Barrister's MS. Diary, under date of March 13, 1601-2. With the testimony before us, furnished only by his Sonnets, it appears to me little short of absurd to suppose that Shakespeare was more immaculate than his contemporaries, living, as he generally did, apart from his wife, who was eight years older than himself, and who had borne him a daughter, as is shown by recently discovered evidence, six months after their marriage.

Chamberlain's *Jocabella* is in fact a jest-book, and while upon jest-books, I may advert to a circumstance of some curiosity in connection with the popularity or unpopularity of Shakespeare's plays after his death, or after the deaths of the principal actors in them. R. Burbage, the original Shylock, (Vide "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare," p. 30) died in 1620, and with him for a long series of years died *The Merchant of Venice:* there is no trace

of its performance at any theatre between that date and 1701, when Lord Lansdowne's alteration was first acted. In the interval it seems to have been entirely neglected; and in 1664, as I have shown in the tract above referred to, Jordan published a ballad founded upon Shakespeare's story, as if it were then unknown. I have recently met with another piece of evidence to the same effect, of ten years later date, in a book called "Cambridge Jests or Witty Alarums for Melancholy Spirits," &c. London, 1674. 12mo.; in which, on p. 148, the following brief narrative occurs. The scene, it will be remarked, is transferred from Venice to Constantinople.

"In the city of Constantinople, a certain Christian desired to borrow of a Jew the sum of five hundred duckets. The Jew lent them unto him, with condition that for the use of the money, he should, at the end of the term, give him two ounces of his flesh, cut off in some one of his members. The day of payment being come, the Christian repayed the five hundred duckets to the Jew, but refused to give him any part of his flesh. The Jew, not willing to lose his interest, convented the Christian before Sultan Soliman, Emperour of the Turks, who, having heard the wicked demand of the one, and the answer of the other, commanded a razor to be brought and to be given to the Jew, to whom he said: 'Because thou shalt know that justice is done thee, take there the razor, and cut from the flesh of the Christian two ounces which thou demandest; but, take heed thou cut neither more nor less, for if thou dost, thou shalt surely die.' The Jew, holding that to be a thing impossible, durst not adventure, but acquitted the Christian his interest."

The variations between this anecdote, Shake-

speare's play, and Jordan's ballad, need not be pointed out; but the insertion of it in a popular collection of jokes and stories shows that perhaps both the one and the other had been completely forgotten. *The Merchant of Venice* was not represented on the stage at all in the shape in which Shakespeare left it, between 1620, when Burbage died, and 1741, when it was revived by Macklin, and acted at Drury Lane for twenty nights, between the 14th of February and the 7th of April inclusive. The adventurous performer took his benefit in what may be called the original Shylock on the latter day.

I have already had occasion to refer to the quotations in my "History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage," from the Barrister's Diary, preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.* You will not, I dare say, have forgotten one extract, in which the writer, alluding to the performance of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* at the Middle Temple, on February the 2nd, 1601-2, states, that it was "much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menæchmi in Plautus, but *most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni.*" (Hist. Dram. Poetry and the Stage. I. 327.) At the time I discovered this entry, I searched in every direction for the Italian play entitled *Inganni*, but could no where meet with it, so that I was

* No. 5353. No name is to be found in any part of the MS.; but, if I remember rightly, you informed me that, by collateral circumstances, you had ascertained it to be Mannington, and that he was of a Kentish family.

unable, when I published my book, to point out in what respects, and how far, *Twelfth Night* resembled it. For the last eight or nine years I have constantly kept it in my mind, and I never turned over a collection of Italian dramatic productions without hoping at length to find *Inganni*. Within the last three months, I am happy to say, that I have succeeded, and the edition I have procured bears date in 1582, twenty years before Shakespeare's play was performed at the Middle Temple, and has the following title, which I give at length.

Glinganni Comedia del Signor N. S. Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547. *dinanzi alla Maestà del Re Filippo. Novamente ristampata et con somma diligenza corretta.—In Venetia. Appresso Bernardo Giunti e Fratelli. M.D.LXXXII.*

Hence it appears, then, that this copy of 1582 is only a reimpression of an older edition; but 1547 does not accord with a date we meet with in the course of the play, (Act III., Sc. 9.) where a notary thus reads the commencement of a deed which one of the principal characters is to sign—*In Christi nomine, amen. Millessimo quingentessimo, quinquagessimo primo, &c.* Dates thus supplied are, however, always uncertain, because the performer would be likely to give that of the year when he was actually playing the part; and, though first *recitata* in Milan, in 1547, the comedy might be acted also in 1551, and the impression made from a manuscript

giving to the deed that date in the course of the representation.

As to the Author, "Signor N. S.," I can furnish no information, and I will now therefore at once proceed to the main point—the extent of Shakespeare's obligation to the Italian play. Whether he was indebted to a translation or to the original is not of much consequence: no English version has come down to us, and it is not improbable that our great poet understood enough of Italian for his purpose. I do not recollect any conjecture that Shakespeare visited Italy, but it was not unusual with the poets of the time. Nash and Greene were there before 1593, as well as others, who until lately were not known to have quitted their native country. Robert Toft, for instance, dates several of the poems in his "Alba: the Month's Mind of a melancholy Lover," 1598, 12mo. from Rome, Mantua, &c.; and Daniel mentions his travels in the edition of his *Delia, Rosamond, and Cleopatra*, 1595, of 12mo. as I pointed out in the Catalogue of some of the Bridgewater books, compiled by me, under the direction of Lord Francis Egerton.* Shakespeare was less likely to have gone there than some of his con-

* "None of Daniel's biographers notice the fact that he travelled in Italy, no doubt in early life, and perhaps in the capacity of tutor to the son of the Countess of Pembroke. That he had visited that country we have upon his own evidence. In the same year that he published the work before us, ('The First Fowre Bookes of the civile wars

temporaries, because he was so constantly and actively engaged for the two theatres to which he belonged; but it is easy to imagine, that if he did not acquire a knowledge of Italian in the country itself, he might do so out of it, or might obtain assistance from friends to supply defects arising from his imperfect acquaintance with the language. I shall not, therefore, stop to inquire farther into the matter, but I shall proceed by an examination of *Gl' Inganni*, to show in what particulars it resembles *Twelfth Night*. That the Barrister was right in saying that there was a resemblance — "most like and near to that in Italian called *Inganni*" — will hardly be doubted after the perusal of the following sketch of the plot, which, as was not unusual, precedes the play, under the term,

"*Argomento.*

"Anselmo, a Genoese merchant who traded to the Levant, having left his wife in Genoa great with child, had two children by her, one a boy called Fortunato and a girl who was named Gineura. After he had borne for four years the desire of seeing his wife and family, he returned home to them, and wishing to depart again, he took them with him; and when they were embarked on board the vessel, he dressed them both in short cloaths for greater convenience, so that the girl looked like a boy. And on the voyage to Soria he

between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke') 1595, 4to., he reprinted his *Delia*, *Rosamond*, and *Cleopatra*, in 12mo., and one of the sonnets in his *Delia* is thus headed: 'At the Author's going into Italie,' and another is thus introduced, 'This Sonnet was made at the author's being in Italie.'"—*Bridgewater Catalogue*, privately printed, p. 78.

was taken by Corsairs and carried into Natolia, where he remained in slavery for fourteen years.

" His children had a different fortune; for the boy was several times sold, but finally here in this city, which on this occasion shall be Naples, and he now serves Dorotea, a Courtesan, who lives there at that little door. The mother and Gineura, after various accidents, were bought by M. Massimo Caraccioli, who lives where you see this door; but by the advice of the mother, who has been dead six years, Gineura has changed her name and caused herself to be called Ruberto, and, as her mother while living persuaded her, always gave herself out to be a boy, thinking in this way that she should be better able to preserve her chastity.

" Fortunato and Ruberto, by the information of their mother, know themselves to be brother and sister.

" M. Massimo has a son, whom they call Gostanzo, and a daughter named Portia. Gostanzo is in love with Dorotea, the courtesan, to whom Fortunato is servant. Portia, his sister, is in love with Ruberto, notwithstanding she is a girl, because she has always been thought a man. Ruberto, the girl, not knowing how to satisfy the desires of Portia, who constantly importunes her, has sometimes at night conveyed her brother into the house in her place: he has got Portia with child, and she is now every hour expecting to be brought to bed.

" On the other hand, Ruberto, as a girl and in love with her young master Gostanzo, has double suffering — one from the passion which torments her, and the other from the fear lest the pregnancy of Portia should be discovered. Massimo, the father of Portia and Gostanzo, is aware of the pregnancy of his daughter, and has sent to Genoa to inquire into the parentage of Ruberto, in order that if he find him ignoble, and unworthy to be the husband of his daughter, whom he believes to be with child by him, he may have him killed. But, by what I have heard, the father of the twins, who has escaped from the hands of the Turks, ought this day to be returned with the messenger, and I think that every thing will be accommodated.

"Be attentive, and because you have no supper here, a meal of laughter is prepared for you, in part to satisfy your hunger. You shall have a valliant soldier, who will not allow you to be angry, and an old Doctor, both of them in love with Dorotea, the Courtesan, who skins them alive. Do not stir, for I hear a noise."

This "Argument" was obviously spoken as a sort of explanatory prologue to the comedy; and the stage, according to what is said of the doors, must have represented two distinct habitations, one that in which Dorotea dwelt, and the other the residence of Massimo Caraccioli. The place of action never changes in the course of the performance, every scene being represented in front of the two houses, the characters apparently coming in at what we now call the wings, or from one or other of the doors pointed out by the prologue-speaker.

The resemblances and dissimilarities between this plot and that of *Twelfth Night* I need not dwell upon. Our great poet has elevated the whole subject, in character, language, and sentiment, and has converted what may be termed a low comedy into a high drama. The novel called the "Historie of Apollonius and Silla," inserted by B. Rich in his *Farewell to Military Profession*, originally printed between 1578 and 1581, and again in 1606, (which I believe I was first publicly to point out as connected in story with *Twelfth Night*)* also places

* In the *Poetical Decameron*, London, 1820. II. 134. The fact itself I had ascertained several years earlier. The

the incidents among persons of higher rank than those engaged in *Gl' Inganni;* but, though Shakespeare had probably used it to a certain extent, he was, I apprehend, under greater obligations to the Italian comedy. In Rich's novel, although Silvio and Silla (the Sebastian and Viola of *Twelfth Night*) are brother and sister, they are not twins, as in Shakespeare and in *Gl' Inganni*; and the Lady Julina (the Olivia of *Twelfth Night*) is a widow, whereas in Shakespeare and in the Italian comedy, she has never been married. Both Rich and the Author of *Gl' Inganni* make the representative of Olivia with child, but Shakespeare avoided this needless indelicacy, injurious to the character of so important a female in his drama. However, it is hardly worth while here to advert to other points of likeness or dissimilarity, since they will be remarked as we proceed.

novel, with sundry errors of the press, was inserted by Boswell in his Edit. of Shakespeare in 1821, and it is evident that Malone had been informed by Mr. O. Gilchrist of the existence of Rich's novel, and of the resemblance between some of its incidents and Shakespeare's Play. When I wrote in 1820, I supposed that *Twelfth Night* had been produced subsequent to the reprint of Rich's *Farewell to Military Profession*, in 1606: Malone, Steevens, Chalmers, and other authorities, fixed the date of *Twelfth Night* after 1612, but I proved, in 1831, that it was acted as part of the entertainments in the Middle Temple in the beginning of 1602. It was probably then a new play, its popularity on its first production on the public stage having recommended it to the "Inns of Court revellers."

Whenever Shakespeare adopted a plot, or any portion of a plot, from a previous writer (excepting of course where the personages were historical), it was usual with him, as far as we know, to change the names of the characters, and he has done so completely in the instance before us. The scene of *Gl'Inganni* is laid, as we have seen, in Naples, and that of *Twelfth Night* in Illyria. The following is the list of *Persone della Comedia* preceding the Italian play, not one of which accords with any name to be found in the corresponding work of our great dramatist.

Gostanzo, a young lover.
A Bawd.
Ruberto, a girl dressed like a man.
Fortunato, a young lover.
A Doctor.
Cima, servant to the Doctor.
Vespa, servant to Gostanzo.
Dorotea, a courtesan.
A Nurse.
Silvestra, an old woman.
Massimo, Tullio, } Old men.
Captain with his companions.
Straccia, servant to the Captain.
A Porter.
Dina, a female servant.
A Procurator.
Second Notary.
A Pimp.
Portia, a girl.
Ranieri, Anselmo, } Old men.
Wife to the Doctor.
Lionella, a Matron.

The admirable comic portion of *Twelfth Night* is entirely, and without the slightest obligation that we can now trace, Shakespeare's. The comic portion of *Gl'Inganni* is mere vulgar buffoonery between the braggart Captain, his servant* and companions, the

* This servant, as will be seen by the foregoing list, is named Straccia, pronounced Strachia; and, in *Twelfth Night*,

Doctor and his servant, the Bawd and her Pimp, and Dorotea, the Courtesan. Dorotea has somewhat of a disinterested passion for Gostanzo, with whom Ruberto (otherwise Gineura, the Viola of Shakespeare) is in love, and Dorotea tricks the Doctor and Captain out of money, with which the Bawd is paid sixty *scudi*, the price at which she (Dorotea) was to be let out to Gostanzo for a year. In the end she seems a little ill-used, being unceremoniously abandoned by him in favour of Gineura. The whole of this part of the play is coarsely conducted, and deserves no further remark than that it was somewhat similar to the burlesque scenes in other Italian comedies of about the same date.

It is in the situations more than in the dialogue that any resemblance is to be traced between the two plays, yet in the following soliloquy by Ruberto (*i. e.* Viola in Shakespeare) we observe something like the soliloquy of Viola in Act II. Sc. 2. It forms the 4th Scene of Act I. of *Gl'Inganni*, in which the exit or entrance of any character constitutes a new

Malvolio remarks, in reference to the supposed love of the Countess for him, " The lady of the *Strachy* married the yeoman of the wardrobe." Various are the guesses of the commentators as to the meaning of *Strachy*. May it not have been miswritten for *Strozzy*, an illustrious Florentine family? The copyist of the theatre, from whose MS. the play perhaps was printed in 1623, might not be able to read the word Strozzy, and, finding Straccia or Strachia occur in his original copy, (Shakespeare having possibly at first preserved that name in his *Dram. Pers.*) he might erroneously insert it. This is mere conjecture.

scene. It is to be recollected that Ruberto is the servant of Portia, (Shakespeare's Olivia) and not of Gostanzo (Shakespeare's Orsino), but Portia is in love with her, not knowing her to be a girl, and she with Gostanzo, who also supposes her a young man. Ruberto says,

"Important business keeps me here; love drives me away: I ought not to go—remain I cannot. To abandon this unhappy girl, on the point of confinement, is a great fault, and love will not consent that I continue without my master who inflames my breast. Oh heaven! Oh fate! will you never have pity on a poor girl, against whom ye began to make war when she quitted her swathing clothes? From wealth ye have reduced me to slavery, now to this person, now to that, and compelled me for the preservation of my female honour to serve in male attire. Ye ought to be satisfied with this cruelty, and not add to it so many other troubles, so many other apprehensions. Unhappy that I am, I love one who loves not me; but what is worse, this false lying habit that I wear makes me desperate: I therefore starve, and I am so far from all aid, that my Gostanzo, who consumes my breast, in love with a wanton, destroys me every moment by employing me in his suit. But still worse, as a last fatal blow, Portia, my master's sister, is in love with me, thinking me a man. Having told my brother, Fortunato, the passion the silly girl bears me, knowing the cause, he so entreated me that I consented to conduct him to the house and put him in my place at night. Thus the unhappy girl having become pregnant, and near her time, lives in continual agony and terror, and in her simplicity, not knowing with whom she slept, has no refuge but me. To me she complains, with me she grieves, from me she seeks assistance and advice; while I, miserable virgin, agitated by an unwonted passion, clothed in a false disguise, trembling and fearful, am in constant anguish and dread lest the pregnancy should be discovered."

This has some remote resemblance to Viola's soliloquy —

" How will this fadge? my master loves her dearly,
And I, poor monster, fond as much on him;
And she, mistaken, seems to dote on me:
What will become of this? As I am man
My state is desperate for my master's love," &c.

" This false lying habit (says Ruberto) that I wear makes me desperate." In the 9th Scene of the same Act, Ruberto (*i. e.* Gineura) endeavours to dissuade Gostanzo from his lawless love for the courtesan Dorotea, and advises him to look out for some worthy object for his affection :—

" *Gostanzo.* And where shall we find her?
Ruberto. I know one who is more lost for love of you, than you are for this carrion.
Gostanzo. Is she fair?
Ruberto. Indifferently.
Gostanzo. Where is she?
Ruberto. Near you.
Gostanzo. And will she be content that I should lie with her?
Ruberto. If God wills that you should do it.
Gostanzo. How shall I get to her?
Ruberto. As you would come to me.
Gostanzo. How do you know that she loves me?
Ruberto. Because she often talks to me of her love.
Gostanzo. Do I know her?
Ruberto. As well as you know me.
Gostanzo. Is she young?
Ruberto. Of my age.
Gostanzo. And loves me?
Ruberto. Adores you.

Gostanzo. Have I ever seen her?
Ruberto. As often as you have seen me.
Gostanzo. Why does she not discover herself to me?
Ruberto. Because she sees you the slave of another woman."

The subject is continued in the next scene: Gostanzo desires Ruberto to aid him by imposing upon the young lady who secretly loves him.

"*Ruberto.* God forbid that I should injure the poor creature; she suffers enough for you without my deceiving her.
Gostanzo. What can it signify to you?
Ruberto. Because I love this girl as much as myself; and besides, if I would I could not deceive her, because she knows your secrets as well as I do.
Gostanzo. Perhaps she knows them from you?
Ruberto. She does, for she sees every secret of my heart.
Gostanzo. Then you love her.
Ruberto. As well as you love me. Be sure that we have only one soul, one will, one spirit."

This all seems too plain to have been misunderstood any where but on the stage, and it distantly, and only very distantly, reminds us of Act II., Sc. 4, of *Twelfth Night,* where the Duke, observing that Viola "speaks masterly" about love, says,

"My life upon't, young though thou art, thine eye
Hath stayd upon some favour that it loves;
Hath it not, boy?
Viola. A little, by your favour.
Duke. What kind of woman is't?
Viola. Of your complexion.
Duke. She is not worth thee then. What years, i'faith?
Viola. About your years, my Lord.
Duke. Too old, by heaven!" &c.

Here the matter is reversed by Shakespeare with singular skill and propriety, lest the secret should be too transparent not to be seen through by the Duke. Viola afterwards touches upon the true chord, but with a most delicate finger:—

> "Say, that some lady, as perhaps there is,
> Hath for your love as great a pang of heart
> As you have for Olivia."

And again, after the Duke has reproached women for the lightness of their love, Viola replies—

> "In faith, they are as true of heart as we.
> My father had a daughter lov'd a man,
> As it might be, perhaps, were I a woman,
> I should your Lordship."

In the Italian comedy Gostanzo asks Ruberto whether he is sorry to see him in love with a woman so depraved as Dorotea, and Ruberto answers—

> "It grieves me that nobody can love you more than I do.
> *Gostanzo.* Not being a woman, what have you to grieve for?
> *Ruberto.* And what if some strange accident should change me."

In *Gl' Inganni*, the discovery of the real sex of Ruberto, and of the instrumentality of Fortunato in the condition of Portia, is the subject of narrative by Tullio to his friend Massimo, in Act V. Sc. 3: speaking of Gostanzo and Gineura, (for she is now sometimes called by her real name) he tells Massimo,

> "Gineura shewed the fervent love she had constantly borne Gostanzo, reminding him with wonderful pity and

grace, first of one incident and then of another in the course of her attachment. The unhappy youth was so much softened by it that had Gineura wished to die, he would have died also. Overcome by the tears which abundantly bathed the cheek of Ruberto, moved also by the novelty of the discovery, and considering how infinite must have been the love which the maiden bore him, Gostanzo grew wild, burst into tears and accused her of too great patience and modesty," &c.

This is followed by a scene of the usual kind between the lovers, in which Gostanzo expresses his grief for the treatment he had sometimes given Gineura, thinking her only a boy; and then comes an interview between Anselmo, the father of Fortunato and Gineura, (who in *Twelfth Night* had died when his daughter was thirteen years old) and an old man named Rainieri, the former recounting the loss of his twin children, and his own captivity. Portia, who is too ill to be able to appear at the close of the comedy, is of course given to Fortunato, her father being reconciled to the match by finding that Anselmo is worth 60,000 *scudi*. The conclusion of the play is a comic scene, chiefly between the Bawd, the Courtesan, the Doctor, and the Doctor's wife: the last, having detected her husband in his amours, abuses, beats him, and finally drives him home before her.

It is obvious that the obligations of Shakespeare for the plot of his comedy were not very great, and that he owed little or nothing to the dialogue. It was perhaps well known, at the time when *Twelfth Night* was acted at the Middle Temple, that it was founded upon the Italian play; for though the

Barrister in the course of his diary evinces some acquaintance with English literature, I do not recollect any but the passage already quoted, which would lead to the conclusion that his knowledge extended to Italian. It might be matter of conversation among the Templars, while the work of our great dramatist was in a course of performance by the actors, that he had made use of *Gl'Inganni*.

I hope you will not think that I have said too much of this matter; but I will endeavour to make amends by being shorter upon another point in some degree illustrative of the source whence Shakespeare derived the plot of his *Cymbeline*. Malone quoted a story from a tract called *Westward for Smelts*, (first printed, as far as can be ascertained, in 1603,) which in most of its incidents, with the exception of the expedient of the chest, is an adaptation to England of Boccacio's novel (Gior. II. nov. 9), but I cannot help conjecturing that there must have been some play or story known at the time which Shakespeare more nearly followed. That such a drama existed in French at an early period has recently been established, and it is not at all impossible that it had found its way in a similar shape into this country.

By the favour of my friend, Mr. Wright, I have very recently received from Paris (where such praiseworthy zeal has of late years been shown on the subject of the early literature and drama of France) a printed collection of pieces represented during the

middle ages, and existing among the manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*. It is entitled *Théâtre Français au Moyen-age* (Paris, 1839, 8vo.), and it has been got up under the care of M. M. Monmerqué and Michel. At p. 431 I find what is called by the general title of *Un Miracle de Nostre-Dame,* of the plot of which the subsequent is a brief sketch. You will immediately note the resemblance, as far as it goes, to the production of our great dramatist.

"Lotaire, the Emperor, makes war on Alfons, King of Spain: the latter flies to his brother, the King of Grenada, for assistance. During his absence, Lotaire and his nephew Ostes lay siege to Burgos, and there capture Denise, the daughter of Alfons. Lotaire procures Ostes to be married to Denise, and makes them King and Queen of Spain. Lotaire and Ostes for a time quit Spain for Rome, leaving Denise behind in Burgos. At Rome, Ostes meets Count Berengier, and the latter wagers his possessions with the former, who gages his kingdom of Spain, on the chastity of Denise during her husband's absence. Berengier proceeds to Burgos to make the attempt, and concerts with Eglantine, the female attendant of Denise, in order to accomplish his purpose. She gives her mistress a sleeping draught and then steals what Denise most valued (*un os d'un des doigts du pied de son mari*, which he had given her just before his departure for Rome), and informs Berengier of some secret mark she carried on her person. Berengier returns to Rome, shows the *os* in triumph, and discloses the secret mark he pretends to have seen. Ostes determines to kill Denise, but she is pre-informed of his intention, and by advice of the Virgin flies from Burgos to her father and uncle, at Grenada, in male attire. She is taken into the service of the latter, and, unknown to be a woman, is made his standard-bearer. Ostes, unable to find her and to wreak his vengeance upon her, turns

renegade, blasphemes his Creator, and serves the Saracens. In the mean while, the King of Grenada and Alfons collect their forces and are about to march against Lotaire, when Denise (who now calls herself Denis) entreats that she may proceed to Rome, to have an interview with Lotaire, promising to do her best to render bloodshed unnecessary. She goes to Rome, and, proclaiming Berengier a traitor to Denise, challenges him to single combat. Ostes by this time has repented his denial of christianity, and warned from heaven, proceeds to Rome to do penance for his sin. He arrives when the combat between Denise and Berengier is about to take place. Ostes, too, challenges the traitor, and is adjudged to enter the lists against him in preference to Denise. Berengier is overcome, confesses his crime, Denise discloses her sex, and the war is at an end. Alfons is not restored to his kingdom, which continues in the hands of Ostes and Denise, but Lotaire gives him the kingdom of Mirabel and the Comté of Vaux-Plaissiez, while the King of Grenada bestows upon him land which will yield him 3000 livres per ann."

The above is a bare outline of the chief incidents, and there can be little doubt that the performance was popular from the romantic nature of the story, the rapid changes of the place of action, and the number and variety of the characters, including the Creator, the Virgin, the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, and St. John.* That it originally came into

* The learned editors of the *Miracle de Nostre Dame* also refer for similar incidents to the *Roman de la Violette*, and to that of *Flore et Jehanne*. In the latter we have the wager, and the villain, by means of an old woman, obtains admission into the Lady's chamber while she is bathing, and sees the secret mark on her *diestre cuise*. She afterwards goes in search of her husband in male attire, and becomes his *eskuier*.

England in a dramatic shape nobody will pretend to assert; but, recollecting the intimate connection between the religious bodies of this country and of the continent (often the principal performers in such representations), it is not unlikely, and it may have been the subject of an old Miracle-play long before the time of Shakespeare. On the other hand, some novel may have been formed upon the same foundation as Boccacio's story, both of which perhaps had the same origin as the French Miracle-play, and to this our great poet may have been indebted. If there were a preceding play in English, it is only one of the many irrecoverably lost. Shakespeare is supposed by the Commentators to have formed his *As you Like it* immediately on Lodge's novel of *Rosalind,* and his *Winter's Tale* upon Greene's *Pandosto;* but it is possible that dramas had been written and acted upon these subjects before Shakespeare took them in hand, and if so the accusation of Greene in his *Groatsworth of Wit,* that Shakespeare was "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers," would have double force in its application.

The employment of the chest by the traitor is to be found in Boccacio, but not in *Westward for Smelts,* nor in the French Miracle-play; but there are two points of resemblance between the latter and Shakespeare, which may deserve remark. Berengier tells Ostes, when proposing the wager,

> "Et vous dy bien que je me vant,
> Que je ne sçay femme vivant,

Mais que ij foiz à li parlasse,
Que la tierce avoir n'en cuidasse
Tout mon delit."

That is to say, "I tell you truly that I boast that I know no woman living, but if I might *speak to her twice*, at the third time I might hope to have all my desire." Iachimo (*Cymbeline*, A. I. Sc. 5.) says, "With no more advantage than the opportunity of *a second conference*, and I will bring you from thence that honour of hers, which you imagine so reserved." This is found neither in Boccacio nor in *Westward for Smelts*.

Again in the French Miracle-play, Berengier, endeavouring to work upon the jealousy of Denise, tells her,

"De Romme vien, où j'ay laissié
Vostre seigneur, qui ne vous prise
Pas la queue d'une serise :
D'une garce c'est acointié
Qu'il a en si grand amistié
Qu'il ne scet de elle departir."

i. e., "I come from Rome, where I left your lord who does not value you the stalk of a cherry: he is connected with a girl for whom he has so strong a regard that he knows not how to part from her." The passage where Iachimo represents the manner in which Posthumus in Rome spends his revenues upon depraved women will readily occur to you, and no corresponding inducement is to be met with

in the Italian novelist, nor in his English imitator, the author of the tract of 1603.

How far Shakespeare may have been indebted to others in these instances may be disputed, but I will now produce a new and a remarkable proof of the extent to which others were certainly indebted to him. It has reference to the play of *Pericles*.

I take it for granted that few will now dispute Shakespeare's claim to *Pericles*. The internal evidence in favour of his authorship is stronger than the external: it may be a question whether he wrote the whole of it—whether he did not adopt and adapt some earlier drama, but it seems to me impossible to read it, especially the three last acts, without feeling the firmest conviction that Shakespeare's pen was importantly concerned in it. I shall not here attempt any critical proofs, but refer with confident approbation to a long note on p. xxxi to p. xxxv of Mr. Proctor's recent life of Ben Jonson.* *Aut* Shakespeare *aut Diabolus*. No poet of the time could have written it but our great dramatist; and, with regard to external evidence, *Pericles* was not only printed with Shakespeare's name on the title-page twice in his lifetime, (which I admit to be by no means conclusive) but it was assigned to him by persons who, if not his contemporaries, lived and wrote shortly after his decease, and when several of

* Prefixed to the Edit. of his Works, in one volume, 8vo. 1838.

the original actors in the drama were still in existence. I am not about to quote, but only to refer to these, because the passages are to be found in the preliminary remarks to *Pericles* in Boswell's edition of Malone's Shakespeare, vol. xxi.

I do not at all rely upon Dryden's evidence farther than to establish the belief as to authorship entertained by persons engaged in theatrical affairs after the Restoration; for it is now, I apprehend, quite clear that he was wrong in asserting that,

> "Shakespeare's own muse his Pericles *first bore*;
> The Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moor;"

and perhaps he rather meant to indicate the inferiority of *Pericles* to *Othello*, taking it for granted that it was an earlier work, than to pronounce definitively on that point: in the first line of the couplet Dryden states that *Pericles* was the first born of Shakespeare's muse, and in the second, merely that it preceded *Othello*. *Othello*, we know, was acted in the summer of 1602.

One of the most acute and able editors of Shakespeare, unquestionably, is the gentleman who superintends the beautifully illustrated reprint now in course of publication, but he adopts (Part I. p. 7) Dryden's *obiter dictum* as proof, and contends that *Pericles* was produced before 1590. Now, it is mentioned by no author before 1609, and it had been entered on the Stationers' books on the 20th May, 1608, and was published in 1609. In this year it is

actually spoken of by the anonymous author of *Pimlyco or Runne Red-cap** as a new play:

> " Amaz'd I stood, to see a crowd
> Of civil throats stretched out so loud;
> As *at a new play* all the rooms
> Did swarm with gentles mixt with grooms,
> So that I truly thought all these
> Came to see *Shore* or *Pericles*."

It has come down to us, as a cursory perusal will show, in a most imperfect state, very different, no doubt, from that in which the author handed it over to the theatre, and in which it was acted. Blount, the bookseller, who had entered it at Stationers' Hall in May, 1608, was not the publisher of it in 1609, but Henry Gosson, an inferior rival in trade, probably from a surreptitious copy; and I shall shew by and by upon good evidence, not only that there must have been great omissions, but in what way some of those omissions possibly are to be supplied.

My position is twofold—1, that *Pericles* was performed with great success, and 2, that this per-

* Malone was mistaken in supposing that there was an older edition of *Pimlyco* than that of 1609. It was then first published, and not in 1596. If *Pericles* had been produced before 1590, as the Editor of the *Pictorial Shakespeare* conjectures, it would not have been mentioned as a new play even in 1596, much less in 1609. If Malone ever met with the work itself, he misquoted the title of it, which runs thus in the only copy I ever saw. " Pimlyco or Runne Red-cap. Tis a mad world at Hogsdon. At London. Printed for Jo. Busbie and Geo. Loftis &c. 1609." 4to. B. L.

formance took place early in the year 1608, when the publication of the play was contemplated.

We have the testimony of the Author of *Pymlico*, 1609, that the representation at the playhouse was attended by crowds; and Taylor, in the prologue to his *Hog hath lost his Pearl*, 1614, tells us that it was "fortunate" in pleasing the audiences:

> "And if it prove so happy as to please,
> We'll say 'tis fortunate like Pericles."

Steevens thought the word "fortunate" equivocal, and contended that "fortunate" did not mean *deserving*. No doubt; and possibly "a sneer," as he says, was intended, but this does not establish that the performance was not popular: on the contrary, we might infer that it was popular beyond Taylor's opinion of its merits; yet the author of some lines before Lewis Sharpe's *Noble Stranger*, 1640, uses the word "fortunate" in connection with "oft-crammed theatres," in a way which shows that he meant that the play of which he was speaking was highly successful:

> "thy *Noble Stranger*
> With pleasing strains has smoothed the rugged fate
> Of oft-cramm'd theatres, and prov'd *fortunate*."

I once thought* that Owen Feltham in his *Lusoria*, 1630, had settled the point, when he said, addressing Ben Jonson,

> "they do throw a stain
> Through all the unlikely plot, and do displease,
> As deep as Pericles;"

* Vide Hist. Dram. Poetry and the Stage. I. 384.

but he is consoling Ben Jonson on his want of success as a dramatist, and is speaking critically of *Pericles* and of the absurd construction of its "unlikely plot," and not at all adverting to the mode in which it had been received by the town.

But not to dwell longer on this point, I think the piece of evidence I am now about to introduce must be considered decisive. It is a prose novel, *founded upon Shakespeare's Pericles,* in consequence, in all likelihood, of the great run it was experiencing. We have many instances of old novels, upon the incidents of which dramatic productions were afterwards written, but this is the only instance that has yet been discovered of *a novel professedly taken from an old play*. It must have been hastily put together, and published while *Pericles* was enjoying extraordinary popularity, in order to forestal the appearance of the printed play, because Nat. Butter, the bookseller, hoped to derive a profit from the desire of people to read a story which on the stage was so remarkably attractive. Had the play not then been *a new production,* and had it not been "fortunate" by being performed in "oft-crammed theatres," Butter would have had no inducement to enter into the speculation. As the tract is a literary curiosity in itself, independently of its intimate connection with one of Shakespeare's dramas, I shall insert the title-page at length, arranged as it stands in the original, the only copy yet heard of.

THE

Painfull Aduentures

of *Pericles* Prince of

Tyre.

Being

The true History of the Play of Pericles, *as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient Poet* Iohn Gower.

At London.
Printed by T.P. *for* Nat: Butter.
1608.

I have given a fac-simile of the wood-cut on the title-page, because it obviously represents "the worthy and ancient Poet John Gower" as he appeared on the stage at the time for the purpose of delivering the explanatory interlocutions found in the play; and it is a singular relic of theatrical costume.* He has a bunch of bays in his left hand, a staff in his right, and he stands near a table on which is a book, probably intended for a copy of his own work, *Confessio Amantis*, in which he relates

* Twenty years before, Robert Greene in his *Vision*, (a piece of such rarity that my friend, the Rev. A. Dyce, could never obtain even a sight of it for his edition of *Greene's Works*) had given the following description of Gower, which, it will be observed, does not very well tally with the above stage-representation of him.

"*The Description of John Gower.*

"Large he was, his height was long,
Broad of brest, his lims were strong,
But couller pale, and wan his looke;
Such have they that plyen their booke.
His head was gray and quaintly shorne;
Neatly was his beard worne.
His visage grave, sterne and grim;
Cato was most like to him.
His bonnet was a hat of blew;
His sleeves straight of that same hew.
A surcoate of a tawnie die
Hung in pleights over his thigh.
A breech close unto his dock,
Handsomd with a long stock.
Pricked before were his shoone;
He wore such as others doone.

the original story.* The immediate source to which Shakespeare resorted was probably Laurence Twine's version of the novel of "Apollonius King of Tyre," which first came out in 1576, and was afterwards several times reprinted. I have before me an edition without date, "Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman," which very likely was that used by our great dramatist, though Malone speaks of one in 1607, which he had never seen, and which he attributes to *Thomas* Twine. (Shakesp. by Bosw: xxxi. p. 3.) Steevens, too, falls into the same blunder, adding that the translator of "Apollonius King of Tyre" was "the continuator of Phaer's Virgil, which was left imperfect in 1558." *Laurence* Twine, the translator of "Apollonius King of Tyre," was the brother of the continuator of Phaer's Virgil. The mistake is the

A bag of red by his side
And by that his napkin tide.
Thus John Gower did appeare,
Quaint attired, as you heere."

This description was probably derived from some known representation of Gower at the time. *Greene's Vision* was printed about 1589, as he therein mentions his *Never too Late* and *Mourning Garment* as about to be published. They came out in 1590. Vide Dyce's *Greene's Works*. I. cv.

* Mr. Wright informs me that there are Latin MSS. of the story of "Apollonius of Tyre" as early as the tenth century, and Mr. Thorpe has printed an Anglo-Saxon version of it. The Shakespeare Commentators go no farther back than the *Gesta Romanorum*.

more singular, as Steevens tells us, (Shakesp. by Bosw: xxxi. p. 6) "both editions of Twine's translation are now before me." If so, he made very careless use of them.

Laurence Twine calls his work "The Patterne of painefull Adventures,"* &c.; and the author of the novel founded on Shakespeare's *Pericles* follows it so far as to entitle it "The *painfull Adventures* of Pericles, Prince of Tyre." He goes on to add that it is "the true history of the play of *Pericles*, as it was *lately presented*," referring of course to the recent performance of it on the stage. It is possible that a drama on the fable of Pericles was acted considerably earlier than 1608, but we have no trace of it as we have of some others, and any conjecture of the sort must be founded on the real or supposed inequality of different parts of the drama. Shakespeare may have been the author of both, and may have revised and revived his own earlier work in 1608, but I take it to be indisputable that *Pericles* was considered a novelty in 1608, that it was a very successful performance, and that the tract called "The

* It may be worth while to give the whole title of my undated edition in a note. "The Patterne of painefull Adventures: Containing the most excellent, pleasant and variable Historie of the strange accidents that befell unto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife, and Tharsia his daughter. Wherein the uncertaintie of this world and the fickle state of man's life are lively described. Gathered into English by Laurence Twine gentleman. Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for the Widow Newman." 4to. B. L.

painfull Aduentures of Pericles Prince of Tyre" was written expressly upon the incidents and language of Shakespeare's play, with a view by the bookseller to take advantage of its popularity.

Why no such production has turned up before, considering how many popular plays Shakespeare alone wrote, may be matter of speculation; and I should not be surprised if hereafter several were discovered besides that to which I am now for the first time directing attention. The only known copy of it came out of Nassau's collection into that of the late Mr. Heber; and so little was the real character of its contents known, notwithstanding the plain announcement on the title-page, that when it was sold in 1835 (Vide Heber's Cat. Pt. VI. No. 3223) it was accompanied by a note of the auctioneer, stating that "from this romance history of Pericles Shakespeare certainly borrowed his play;" whereas the "romance history" is "certainly borrowed" from the play, and not the play from the "romance history." I concluded from the title, as given in the Catalogue, that the fact could not be as stated in the note, and so I found it on examination.

The title-page, as already given, is followed by what is called "The Argument of the whole Historie," and it ends with the following noticeable passage in reference to the point now under consideration:— "Onely intreating the Reader to receive this Historie *in the same manner* as it was under the habite of ancient Gower, the famous English Poet, *by the King's*

Majesties Players excellently presented." This alone, I think, would be decisive, if otherwise there had been room for doubt. After the "Argument" we have a complete list of Shakespeare's characters, arranged like the *Dramatis Personæ* of a play, under the heading of "The names of the Personages mentioned in this Historie," and it runs thus:—

"John Gower, the Presenter.	Five Princes.
Antiochus, that built Antioch.	Lycorida, a Nurse.
His Daughter.	Cerimon, a Physition.
Pericles, Prince of Tyre.	Marina, Pericles' daughter.
Thalyart, a villaine.	A Murtherer.
Helycanus, } Twoo grave	Pirates.
Eschines, } Counsellors.	A Bawde.
Cleon, Governor of Tharsus.	A Leno.
Dyonysa, his wife.	A Pander.
Two or three Fishermen.	Lysimachus, Governour of
Symonides, King of Pentapolis.	Meteline.
Thaysa, his daughter.	Diana, Goddesse of chastitie."

Almost the only differences are that Shakespeare calls Cerimon "a Lord of Ephesus," to whom he assigns Philemon as a servant, and that he gives the name of Leonine to the Murderer, and that of Boult to the *Leno*. We will now proceed to the body of the tract, which is divided into eleven chapters, the last signature of the volume being K 2. The story begins on sig. A 4, and the first chapter is thus headed:—

"Wherein *Gower* describes how Antiochus, surnamed the Great, committed incest with his daughter, and beheaded such as sued to her for marriage, if they could not resolve his question, placing their heads on the top of his castle gate, whereby to astonish all others that came to attempt the like."

This forms the substance of Gower's narrative at the opening of *Pericles*, and it exactly explains the lines—

> " So for her many a wight did die,
> As yon grim looks do testify;"

the back scene, no doubt, representing the heads of the unsuccessful suitors on " the top of the Castle gate" of Antiochus. The second chapter has the following introduction: — " How Pericles, arriving at Antioch, resolved the King's Question: And how Thalyart, Antiochus Steward, was sent to murther him." When the hero, undeterred by the " grim looks " of the heads, and by the warning of Antiochus, insists upon attempting the riddle, it is said in the novel, " but Pericles, armed with these noble armours, Faithfulnesse and Courage, and making himselfe fitte for death, if death prooved fitte for him, replyed that he was come to meete death willingly," &c. In Shakespeare, Pericles says—

> " Like a bold champion I assume the lists,
> Nor ask advice of any other thought,
> But *faithfulness and courage*."

In the novel, Antiochus " throws down the riddle," which Pericles takes up and reads, showing part of the " stage business," as it is called, when the play was first represented. The riddle, with the exception of *that* for *which* in the second line, is precisely as it stands in the play, discountenancing Steevens' notion of a corruption in the second couplet of the printed

copy of *rather* for *labour*. However, the novel fully bears out two other conjectures by the same commentator, of which I may here, though a little out of place, take notice. In Act II. Sc. 1, occur the following lines:—

> "How from the fenny subject of the sea
> These fishers tell the infirmities of men."

Steevens substituted *finny* for *fenny*, and the novel shows he was right, where the passage runs thus:—"Prince Pericles wondering that from the *finny* subjects of the sea, these poore countrey people learned the infirmities of men," &c. We ought also to read *subjects* instead of *subject*, in reference to the whales and "poor fry" of whom the fishermen had been talking. Another emendation by Steevens was of one of the mottos of the shields of the Knights. It stands in the old copy of the play—

> "*Me Pompey provexit apex;*"

which Steevens thus amended:—

> "*Me pompæ provexit apex,*"

which is just as it is given in the novel, and is certainly right. Dr. Sewel made a suggestion with reference to the subsequent passage in Act II. Sc. 1, of *Pericles*—

> "And spite of all the rupture of the sea,
> This jewel holds his biding on my arm."

Dr. Sewel proposed to read *rapture* for *rupture*, and whether he was right or not may be seen from

what I now quote from the novel, referring to the same circumstance after the hero has been preserved from drowning: it says, he got to land "with a jewell, whom all the *raptures* of the sea could not bereave from his arme." It shows also that *biding*, in the second line, was the right reading, and not *building*, as it stands in the old copy. These points establish how useful the novel may be made, even as regards verbal criticism, in the restoration of the genuine text, corrupted in the quarto editions beyond any of the other plays of Shakespeare, or perhaps of his contemporaries.

To return to the regular course of the story, as given in the play and the novel.

Malone has remarked upon the variation of the play from the old narrative in the *Gesta Romanorum*, in Gower, and in Twine's translation of "Apollonius King of Tyre," as regards the term of respite granted by Antiochus to Pericles. In the novel under consideration it is, as in the play, *forty* days; and the passage so nearly follows the language of our great dramatist that I will quote it:—

> "For forty dayes he gave him onely longer respite, if by which time (and with all the indevours, counsell and advise he could use) he can finde out what was yet concealed from him, it should he evident how gladly he would rejoyce to joy in such a sonne, rather than have cause to sorrow by his untimely ruine. And in the meane time in his owne Court by the royaltie of his entertainment he should perceive his welcom."

In the third chapter are other instances where the

compiler of the novel has availed himself of the very words of the play, in reference to the distressed condition of Tharsus. The fourth chapter contains the interview between Pericles and the fishermen. In Shakespeare the first Fisherman says to his companions—

"I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale; a' plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on a' the land, who never leave gaping till they've swallowed the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all."

In the novel it runs thus:—

"Againe comparing our rich men to whales, that make a great shew in the world, rowling and tumbling up and downe, but are good for little but to sincke others: that the fishes live in the sea as the powerfull on shore, the great ones eate up the little ones."

Sometimes, and not unfrequently, the very words of a whole line are inserted in the novel. In *Pericles*, Act II. Sc. 2, Thaisa, pointing out the device of the fifth Knight, says—

"The fifth an hand environed with clouds,
Holding out gold that's by the touchstone tried:"

and in the novel it stands—

"And the device he bare was a man's arme environed with a cloude, *holding out golde that's by the touchstone tried.*"

Either the writer of the novel had the use of a MS. copy of the play, or he must have availed himself of notes taken in the theatre during the representation.

In *Pericles*, Act II. Sc. 3, the hero gives this account of himself—

> "A gentleman of Tyre (my name, Pericles;
> My education being in arts and arms)
> Who, looking for adventures in the world,
> Was by the rough seas reft of ships and men,
> And, after shipwreck, driven upon this shore."

The novel, in the fourth chapter, adopts nearly the very words, only changing the first to the third person—

> "A gentleman of Tyre, his name Pericles, his education been in artes and armes, who, looking for adventures in the world, was by the rough and unconstant seas most unfortunately bereft both of shippes and men, and after shipwrecke throwen upon that shoare."

Here the lines are hardly even turned into prose, and it is singular that the old printed copies of the play and the novel agree in giving *been* for *being* in the line—

> "My education being in arts and arms."

In the fifth chapter of the novel it perhaps deserves remark that when the Lords wish to make Helycanus King, he only asks *three* months delay, while in Shakespeare he requires *twelve* months to search for Pericles. I will not quote the corresponding speeches at length from *Pericles;* but, on comparison with Act II. Sc. 5, the following extract from the novel will be found nearly identical, making only allowance for the necessary alteration from dialogue to narrative. It is where Simonides pretends anger at the

love of Pericles and Thaisa, and the former replies that—

"His thoughts had never that ambition so much as to ayme at the love of his daughter, nor any action of his gave cause of his princely displesure: but the king, faining still an angry brow, turned toward him and tolde him that like a traytour hee lyed. Traytour! quoth Pericles.—I, traytour, quoth the King, that thus disguised art stolne into my Court with the witchcraft of thy actions to bewitch the yeelding spirit of my tender childe. Which name of traytor being againe redoubled, Pericles then, insteade of humblenesse seemed not to forget his auntient courage, but boldely replyed, That were it any in his Court, except himselfe, durst call him traytor, even in his bosome he would write the lie, affirming that he came into his Court in search of honour, and not to be a rebell to his state."

> "I came into your court for honour's cause,
> And not to be a rebell to her state,"

are the concluding lines in Shakespeare, but the novel adds what follows :—

"His bloud was yet untainted, but with the heate got by the wrong the King had offered him, and that he boldly durst and did defie himselfe, his subjects, and the prowdest danger that either tyranny or treason could inflict upon him."

For this passage there is no parallel in the play; and when we observe how easily, with the omission of only a few particles, unimportant to the sense, it may be turned or returned into blank verse, we may perhaps be warranted in inferring, either that the MS. employed by the novelist was more perfect than the printed copies that have come down to us, or that the actors delivered additional lines now lost. I

would regulate the passage last above quoted as follows, and it will be found perfect dramatic blank verse:—

> " His blood was yet untainted, but with heat
> Got by the wrong the king had offered him;
> And that he boldly durst and did defy him,
> His subjects, and the proudest danger that
> Or tyranny or treason could inflict."

Precisely the same may be said of other passages in the same chapter. Thaisa enters and Pericles appeals to her, as in Shakespeare, whether he had ever " made love to her:" she answers—" Suppose he had, who durst take offence thereat, since that it was her pleasure to give him to know that he had power to desire no more than she had willingnesse to performe. How, minion! quoth her father (taking her off at the very word, who dare be displeased withall) Is this a fit match for you?" In Shakespeare, Simonides interrupts Thaisa exactly where the novel states him to have done so, but the writer of the narrative adds as follows to the disparaging speech of Simonides;—

> " A stragling Theseus, borne we know not where, one that hath neither bloud nor merite for thee to hope for, or himselfe to challenge even the least allowance of thy perfections."

This addition may instantly be converted into blank verse, thus:—

> " A stragling Theseus, born we know not where,
> One that hath neither blood nor merit
> For thee to hope for, or himself to challenge
> Even the least of thy perfections."

The second line is deficient of a syllable which it would be easy to supply, but I go merely upon the principle of omitting trifling words, which the compilers of the novel inserted sometimes to change blank verse into prose. In the seventh chapter we meet with an expression which every body will at once admit to be truly Shakespearean, but of which we have no trace in the play. Pericles thus addresses his child, born during the tempest at sea:

"Poore inch of nature! (quoth he) thou art as rudely welcome to the world, as ever princesse babe was, and hast as chiding a nativitie as fire, ayre, earth and water can affoord thee."

It is printed in the play thus, without the beautiful and characteristic commencement of the apostrophe, "Poor inch of nature!"

"For thou'rt the rudeliest welcom'd to this world
That e'er was princes child. Happy what follows!
Thou hast as chiding a nativity
As fire, air, water, earth and heaven can make."

Passing over the inscription on the coffin of Thaisa (which differs, but not materially, in the play and in the novel) we come to the recovery of the body by Cerimon. In Act III. Sc. 2, occurs a passage, put into the mouth of Cerimon, which always struck me as corrupt: it runs thus:

"I have heard
Of an Egyptian, had nine hours lien dead,
By good appliance was recovered."

Why an Egyptian? why should an Egyptian be

recovered more easily than a native of any other country? The novel makes it clear that the sense of Shakespeare has not been given in the printed play, for in the novel Cerimon says,

"I have read of some Egyptians who after four houres death (if a may call it so) have raised impoverished bodies like to this unto their former health."

In *Othello*, Act III. Sc. 4, as every body must remember, Shakespeare speaks of an Egyptian "charmer," and in the passage in *Pericles* he refers to the same superstition and to the exercise, by natives of that country, of similar miraculous power. For "impoverished" in the above quotation, we probably ought to read *imperished*.

The eighth and ninth chapters of the novel contain nothing particularly worth occupying your attention, but the tenth chapter fully warrants a conjectural emendation of *Pericles*, Act IV. Sc. 4, by Monck Mason, in the lines,

> "Unless you play the impious innocent,
> And for an honest attribute, cry out
> She died by foul play."

Monck Mason suggested *pious* for *impious*, which last Malone preferred. The novel renders it certain that Monck Mason was right, for Dyonysa says to Cleon, "If such a *pious* innocent as your selfe do not reveale it unto him."

Marina, in the Brothel, is at the mercy of Lysimachus in the tenth chapter, and here we meet with

an important addition to the scene in a speech she addresses to the young Governor of Mitylene for the preservation of her chastity. I have little doubt that it, or something very like it, was in the original play when acted, though now, with the exception of three lines, to which I shall advert presently, entirely lost. What follows, I apprehend, should be inserted where, in *Pericles*, Act IV. Sc. 6, Marina says to Lysimachus,

"Do you know this house to be a place of such resort, and will come unto it? I hear say you are of honourable parts and are the Governor of this place."

Here Shakespeare, according to the printed play, ends, but the novel continues Marina's speech in prose (as it stands in the play) thus:

"If, as you say (my Lord) you are the Governour, let not your authoritie, which should teach you to rule others, be the means to make you misgoverne your selfe. If the eminence of your place came unto you by descent and the royalty of your blood, let not your life proove your birth bastard. If it were thrown upon you by opinion, make good that opinion was the cause to make you great. What reason is there in your justice, who hath power over all, to undoe any? If you take from me mine honour, you are like him that makes a gappe unto forbidden ground, after whom too many enter, and you are guiltie of all their evilles. My life is yet unspotted, my chastitie unstained in thought: then, if your violence deface this building, the workemanship of heaven, made up for good, and not to be the exercise of sinnes intemperance, you do kill your owne honour, abuse your owne justice and impoverish me."

The beauty and eloquence of this speech cannot

be disputed: it is worthy of Shakespeare, and I feel morally certain that it came from his pen. The germ only of a single passage is to be found in the printed play, where Marina appeals to Lysimachus—

> "If you were born to honour, show it now;
> If put upon you, make the judgment good
> That thought you worthy of it."

In a note upon this scene, Malone quotes from the *Gesta Romanorum* a passage in which Athanagoras, who answers to Lysimachus, refrains from offering any insult to Tharsia, (i. e. Marina in the play) because, as he tells her, *Habeo et ego filiam tibi similem, de qua similes casus metuo;* and the commentator adds, that this "affecting circumstance" must have been omitted in the translation Shakespeare used, or it would hardly have escaped him. Steevens, however, shewed that it was to be found in Twine's version; but it seems to have struck neither of them that, as Lysimachus was subsequently to marry Marina, it would have been grossly inconsistent with probability that he should have a daughter like Marina—*Habeo et ego filiam tibi similem,* &c. Besides, a man with a daughter so old would not perhaps (I only say perhaps) be so likely to be found in such a place as that where the dialogue between Lysimachus and Marina occurs.

This novel enables us to recover with certainty the song which in *Pericles* Marina sings to her father, in Act V. Sc. I. Malone quoted from the

Gesta Romanorum what might be, and was in fact, the substance of the verses, and Steevens added a translation of them from Laurence Twine's *Apollonius King of Tyre;* but in the novel taken from the play we have the song itself, and it runs thus:

"Amongst the harlots foule I walke,
Yet harlot none am I.
The rose amongst the thornes it grows
And is not hurt thereby.
The thiefe that stole me, sure I thinke,
Is slaine before this time:
A bawd me bought, yet am I not
Defilde by fleshly crime.
Were nothing pleasanter to me,
Than parents mine to know:
I am the issue of a King,
My bloud from Kings doth flow.
I hope that God will mend my state,
And send a better day:
Leave off your teares, plucke up your hart,
And banish care away.
Shew gladnesse in your countenance,
Cast up your cheerfull eies:
That God remaines that once of nought
Created earth and skyes."

These, with the omission of two lines, are very nearly the words assigned to Tharsia, in *Apollonius King of Tyre;* and Shakespeare found them so well adapted to the person and place, and moreover, perhaps, so fixed in the minds of his auditors by the various and much read reprints of the old story, that he did not think it expedient to substitute any others of his own.

The novelist, aware that, to a reader, after the discovery of Marina by Pericles, the interest of the story is very nearly at an end, begins now to wind up the incidents more summarily than in the play; and what occupies several pages of the old quarto, and a good deal of various action in the performance, he puts into a few sentences. What follows is near the conclusion of his narrative.

"He (Pericles) falls on her necke, and kisses her, calls upon Helycanus to come unto him, shewes him his daughter, biddes him kneele to her, thanketh Lysimachus that so fortunately had brought her to begette life in her father who begot her; so one while weeping, at others joying, and his senses being masterd by a gentle conquerour, in that extreamitie of passion he fell into a slumber: in which sleepe of his, hee was by Diana warned to hie to Ephesus, and there upon the Altare of that Goddesse to offer uppe his sacrifice before the Priests, and there to discourse the whole progresse of his life: which he remembering, being awake, he accordingly shipped himselfe with Lysimachus, Marina and his owne subjects to performe."

The discovery of Thaisa takes place as in Shakespeare, and Marina is given to Lysimachus; but it is needless to say more of the conclusion of the novel than to note that Pericles causes the bawd to be burnt, and the pander, "who had been faithful" to Marina, as well as the Fishermen, to be rewarded—circumstances not mentioned by Shakespeare, as his play has reached us. There is a variation just at the close, which may deserve to be pointed out. According to Shakespeare, Cleon and Dionysa

are burned to death in their palace, but in the novel Pericles revenges himself upon them "by stoning them to death." As the novel-writer had previously stated that the bawd was burnt, he perhaps thought it convenient slightly to change the mode of punishment for Cleon and Dionysa. The last page of the novel is very much borrowed from the termination of Twine's version of "Apollonius King of Tyre."

This *unique* production (for it is without a parallel in our language) was published in 1608, and no doubt, as was intended, anticipated the drama which was printed in 1609, and then had the title of "the *late* and *much admired* play," &c. This is a particularity of description not affixed to any other of the works of our great poet, and decidedly supporting the two points, that *Pericles* was a novelty on the stage, and that it was extremely successful. Although it was, if not altogether, at least in its chief scenes, the work of Shakespeare, and contains much of his phraseology* and mode of thinking, I wish the novel had related to one of his greater performances. What would we not give for a contemporaneous narrative founded upon *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*, or *Macbeth*, so importantly and interestingly illustrating obscurities, and

* "More of the phraseology used in the genuine dramas of Shakespeare (says Bishop Percy) prevails in *Pericles* than in any of the other six doubted plays." Malone considered the internal evidence alone quite decisive. (Shakesp. by Bosw. xxi. p. 221.) In modern times, the late Mr. Gifford is, I believe, the only writer who has spoken slightingly of *Pericles*.

supplying obvious deficiencies? *Pericles,* from the romantic nature of its incidents, the frequent changes in the place of action, its dumb shows, and the variety of its situations, to say nothing of the interest attached to its characters, had strong claims upon public admiration: on these accounts it was highly popular, and to its popularity we owe the production of which I have just concluded the examination. The popularity of *Pericles* was of long duration, for Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus,* 1708, twice mentions it (p. 18 and 52) as a favourite part with Betterton, when he first came upon the stage, and long afterwards. A part is seldom or never a favourite with an actor, unless it be also a favourite with his auditors.

"The painfull Adventures of Pericles" is a *prose* novel founded upon one of Shakespeare's plays: I will now introduce to your notice a production in *verse,* in my opinion written subsequently to *The Tempest,* and adopting all or most of its principal incidents. I once thought it possible that this ballad (for such it is) might have preceded the play, but I now am satisfied that it is a later production, and that the writer was acquainted with *The Tempest,* though he does not employ a single name found in it. My conjecture is that it was published (if published at all, of which we have no evidence but probability) during the period when the theatres were closed, (viz., from about 1642 to 1660,) in order, by putting the stories

of discontinued dramas into easy rhyme, to give the public some species of amusement founded upon old plays, although the severity of the Puritans in those times would not allow the performance of theatrical entertainments. Hence Jordan's ballads, derived from *The Merchant of Venice, The Winter's Tale, Much ado about Nothing,* &c., quoted in my letter to the Rev. A. Dyce.* I also mentioned to him on that occasion the ballad to which I am now adverting, and, having since gone over it with him, I believe he concurs with me in thinking that it is posterior to Shakespeare's *Tempest.* The late Mr. Douce, who also had several opportunities of reading it, at first hoped that it was the long-sought original of that wonderful drama; and when I last saw him and spoke of it, he was disposed to think that the play and the ballad were derived from one common source; but though the copying of particular expressions cannot be detected, there are such strong general resemblances, that I feel assured that the writer of the ballad must have known, if he did not in part use, the play. The initials at the end of the MS. led me, when first I saw it, to conjecture that Robert Greene, who died in 1592, might be the author of it, but it is decidedly of too modern a cast and structure for him, and, as I before observed, my conjecture is that it was written about the period of the Protectorate.

* "New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare." 8vo. 1836. p. 36.

I have never met with nor heard of any printed copy of it, but it is inserted in the MS. volume I have had for years in my possession, the particular contents of which may be seen in my letter to the Rev. A. Dyce. The ballads appear to be of all ages during the century between the opening of the reign of Elizabeth and the time of the Restoration.

Mr. Douce called it "one of the most beautiful ballads he had ever read," and shook his venerable head (as was his wont) with admiring energy and antiquarian enthusiasm at different passages in it; but I am by no means prepared to give it so high a character. It is certainly vastly better, both in style and sentiment, than any thing of the sort Jordan has written; and to whom the initials R. G. at the end can apply, it would be vain to conjecture. Robert Gomersall was a poet of no mean eminence, about that period or a little earlier;* but it is not at all in the manner of any thing he has left behind him. It runs thus:—

THE INCHANTED ISLAND.

In Arragon there livde a king,
Who had a daughter sweete as Spring,
A little playfull childe.
He lovde his studie and his booke;
The toyles of state he could not brooke,
Of temper still and milde.

* He died in 1646.

He left them to his Brother's care,
Who soone usurpd the throne unware,
And turnd his Brother forth.
The studious king Geraldo hight,
His daughter Ida, deare as sight
To him who knew her worth.

The Brother who usurpd the throne
Was by the name Benormo knowne,
Of cruell hart and bolde:
He turnd his niece and Brother forth
To wander east, west, north or south,*
All in the winter colde.

Long time he journeyd up and downe,
The head all bare that wore a crowne,
And Ida in his hand,
Till that they reachd the broad sea side,
Where marchant ships at anchor ride
From many a distant land.

Imbarking, then, in one of these,
They were by force of windes and sea
Driven wide for many a mile;
Till at the last they shelter found,
The maister and his men all drownd,
In the inchanted Isle.

Geraldo and his daughter faire,
The onelie two that landed there,
Were savde by myracle;
And, sooth to say, in dangerous houre
He had some more then human powre,
As seemeth by what befell.

* For the rhyme we should read "south or north," and for the sense it answers equally well. The transcriber was not a very accurate penman.

He brought with him a magicke booke,
Whereon his eye did oft times looke,
That wrought him wonders great.
A magicke staffe he had alsoe,
That angrie fiendes compelld to goe
To doe his bidding straight.

The spirites of the earth and aire,
Unseene, yet fleeting every where,
To crosse him could not chuse.
All this by studie he had gaind
While he in Arragon remaind,
But never thought to use.

When landed on thinchanted Isle
His little Ida's morning smile
Made him forgett his woe:
And thus within a caverne dreare
They livde for many a yeare ifere,
For heaven had will'd it soe.

His blacke lockes turnd all silver gray,
But ever time he wore away,
To teach his childe intent;
And as she into beautie grew,
In knowledge she advanced to [o],
As wise as innocent.

Most lovelie was she to beholde;
Her haire was like to sunn litt golde,
And blue as heaven her eye.
When she was in her fifteenth yeere
Her daintie forme was like the deere,*
Sportfull with majestie.

* This couplet is transposed in the MS., with the figures 1 and 2 against the lines, to indicate the order in which they were to be read.

The Demons who the land had held
By might of magicke he expelld,
Save such as he did neede;
And servaunts of the ayre he kept
To watch ore Ida when she slept,
Or on swift message speede.

And all this while in Arragon
Benormo raignde, who had a son
Now growne to mans estate:
His sire in all thinges most unlike;
Of courage tried, yet slow to strike,
Not turning love to hate.

Alfonso was the Princes name.
It chancd posthaste a message came
Just then to Arragon
From Sicilie, to son and sire,
Which did their presence soone desire
To see Sicilia's son

Fast tyed in the nuptiall band
To Naples daughters lovelie hand,
And they to goe consent.
So in a galley on a day
To Sicilie they tooke their way,
Thither to saile intent.

Geraldo by his magicke art
Knew even the hour of their depart
For distant Sicilie:
He knew alsoe that they must passe
Neare to the isle whereon he was,
And that revenge was nie.

He callde his spirites of the aire,
Commanding them a storme prepare
To cast them on that shore.

The gallant barke came sailing on
With silken sailes from Arragon,
And manie a guilded ore.

But gilded ore and silken saile
Might not against the storme prevaile:
The windes blew hie and loude.
The sailes were rent, the ores were broke,
The ship was split by lightning stroke
That burst from angrie cloude.

But such Geraldoe's powre that day,
That though the ship was cast away,
Of all the crue not one,
Not even the shipboy, then was drownd,
And old Benormo on drie ground
Imbracde his dearest son.

About the isle they wanderd long,
For still some spirite led them wrong,
Till they were wearie growne;
Then came to olde Geraldoes cell,
Where he and lovelie Ida dwell;
Though seene they were not knowne.

Much marvelld they in such a place
To see an Eremit's wringled face,
More at the maid they start:
And soone as did Alfonso see
Ida so beautifull, but hee
Felt love within his hart.

Benormo heard with griefe and shame
Geraldo call him by his name,
His brothers voyce well knowne.
Upon his aged knees he fell,
And wept that ere he did rebell
Against his brother's throne.

Brother, he cried, forgive my crime!
I sweare, since that u[n]happie time,
I have not tasted peace.
Returne and take againe your crowne,
Which at your feete I will lay downe,
And soe our jarres surcease.

Never, Giraldo said, will I
Ascend that seat of soverainty;
But I all wrongs forgett.
I have a daughter, you a son,
And they shall raigne ore Aragon,
And on my throne be sett.

My head is all too olde to beare
The weight of crownes and kingdomes care;
Peace in my bookes I finde.
Gold crownes beseeme not silver lockes,
Like sunbeames upon whitend rockes,
They mocke the tranquill minde.

Benormo, worne with cares of state,
Which worldlie sorrowes aye create,
Sawe the advice was good.
The tide of love betwixt the paire,
Alfonso young and Ida faire,
Had suddaine reacht the flood.

A galley, too, that was sent out
From Sicilie, in feare and doubt,
As having heard the wracke,
Arrivde at the inchanted Isle,
And tooke them all in little while
Unto Messina backe.

But ere his leave Geraldo tooke
Of the strange isle, he burnt his booke,
And broke his magicke wand.

His arte forbid he aye forswore,
Never to deale in magicke more
The while the earth should stand.

From that daie forth the Isle has beene
By wandering sailors never seene.
Some say 'tis buryed deepe
Beneath the sea, which breakes and rores
Above its savage rockie shores,
Nor ere is knowne to sleepe.

In Sicilie the paire was wed,
To Arragon there after sped,
With fathers who them blessd.*
Alfonso rulde for many a yeare:
His people lovde him farre and neare,
But Ida lovde him best.

Finis. R. G.

The story, you will say, is prettily and simply told, and as a narrative it necessarily begins long anterior to the time when the first scene of *The Tempest* is laid. Not only the names but the localities are all different, but it reads to me, here and there, as if the writer had almost purposely avoided too near an approach to Shakespeare. According to the ballad, "the Inchanted Island," where Geraldo and Ida found shelter, must have been in the direct course between Arragon and Sicily, and it is added that it is no longer to be found, and the author perhaps meant to indicate that geographical search for any such spot would be useless. Some years ago, Mr. Rodd, of Newport Street,

* In the MS. it stands "blesse," but the rhyme clearly requires "blessd," no doubt an error of transcription.

after I had shown him this and other dramatic ballads, gave me an extract from a MS. in the possession of Mr. David Constable, being a Diary of a Chaplain to the Consulate of the Barbary States in the reign of Charles II., which contained the following entry:—"This day we made the island of Lampedosa, otherwise *the Enchanted Island*, where we landed and left our gifts."

Malone employed his ingenuity in tracing some similarity, however remote, between Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Robert Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, 1599. In the preceding ballad, Arragon is the kingdom from which the rightful monarch has been driven by his usurping brother, and the name of his son is Alfonso, but still I can make out little or no real connection between the two stories. Ida is a name used by Greene, and is the heroine of his *James the Fourth*, 1598. The King of Naples does not appear, and the incidents are less complicated than those of *The Tempest*. Such beings as Ariel and Caliban are only mentioned under the general words "servants of the air" and "demons of the Isle." It seems singular, unless the author of the ballad meant purposely to shun Shakespeare, or unless the original from which he borrowed did not contain the incident, that he should say nothing of turning Geraldo and Ida adrift in "a rotten carcass of a boat." Prospero re-assumes his dukedom,

"And thence retire me to my Milan;"

but, in the ballad, Geraldo renounces his throne of Arragon in favour of his son-in-law and daughter.

Unless we suppose, as I for one cannot imagine, that the ballad of "The Inchanted Island" is older than *The Tempest*, it affords no additional clue to the origin of that miraculous drama. The conjecture that the story of *The Tempest* was derived from some old romance is probably well founded, and it is possible that it may turn up one of these days with the names used in the preceding ballad.

It gives me great satisfaction to hear that you are about to publish remarks upon *The Tempest*, which may tend to clear up some of our present doubts regarding it. They will of course be acute and original, founded upon that accurate knowledge of our manners, language, and literature, you are well known to possess. I shall look for them with anxiety, taking them only as a foretaste of your larger work, now, I believe, in a forward state of preparation, which will contain many new views respecting Shakespeare and his productions.

I am,

My dear Sir,

Your's most sincerely,

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

London,
Dec. 1st, 1839.

P.S.—On turning to the folio of 1623, with reference to one of the plays of which I have spoken in the preceding letter—*Twelfth Night*—I found fresh

after I had shown him this and other dramatic ballads, gave me an extract from a MS. now in the possession of W. H. Miller, Esq., M. P., being a Diary of a Chaplain to the Consulate of the Barbary States in the reign of Charles II., which contained the following entry:—"This day we made the island of Lampedosa, otherwise *the Enchanted Island*, where we landed and left our gifts."

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proofs that the commentators have had more credit for accuracy than they deserve. I will give only two instances early in the drama. In Act I. Sc. 2., the Captain, speaking to Viola of Olivia, and telling her of the death of Olivia's brother, adds—

> " for whose dear love
> They say, she hath abjured the *company*
> And *sight* of men ;"

which may be the right reading, but in the first folio, the only early authority, I saw, to my surprise, that it stands thus:

> " for whose deere love
> (They say) she hath abjur'd the *sight*
> And *company* of men."

Again, in the fifth scene of the same act, Olivia, on withdrawing her veil, according to the commentators, observes—" Look you, sir, such a one *as* I was this present ;" and Warburton, Steevens, Monck Mason, and Malone, each furnishes an explanatory note (Shakespeare by Boswell, XI. 372), where, if they had only followed the original text, none was wanted. They foisted in the conjunction *as*, and then tried to make sense out of their own nonsense : " Looke you, sir, such a one I was this present," is intelligible enough.

I was mentioning this strange want of accuracy to Mr. Rodd of Newport Street, when he produced to me a copy of the first edition of Shakespeare's *Tarquin and Lucrece*, 1594, 4to., and pointed out two

errors in all the modern reprints of that poem, one of them in the very threshold — the dedication to the Earl of Southampton, — which Malone, and all who have followed him, end in these words — "Were my worth greater, my duty would show greater; mean time, as it is, it is bound to your lordship, to whom I wish long life, still lengthened with happiness." The word "all" is omitted before "happiness"—"still lengthened with *all* happiness" is the true reading of the first edition. The copies of 1607 and 1624, the only ones I have since had the means of consulting, agree with the old text as regards "all," but substitute "should" for "would" in the beginning of the sentence. The second error is in the body of the poem, not very far from the close, where these lines occur, as given by Malone (Shakespeare by Boswell, XX. p. 197)—

> "Her lovely colour kill'd with deadly cares,
> He hath no power to ask her how she fares;
> But stood like old acquaintance in a trance,
> Met far from home, wondering each others chance."

Instead of *But*, in the penultimate line, we ought to read *Both*—at least so it stands in the edition of 1594, and so the sense requires it to stand, the reference being to the meeting of Collatine and Lucrece after the rape by Tarquin.

It is even more material to point out an error of a different kind, in relation to Shakespeare's Will, which I examined for the first time a few weeks ago: till

then I had taken it upon trust that Malone and other biographers had given a correct account of it (Shakespeare by Boswell, II. 601). Malone dates it "*Vicesimo quinto die Martii,*" 1616; and he informs us in a note—"Our poet's will appears to have been drawn up in February, though not executed till the following month, for *February* was first written, and afterwards struck out, and *March* written over it." Now, if any thing depend upon the date when Shakespeare's will was *drawn up*, it is important that that date should be accurately stated; and I discovered that it was prepared in *January*, and not in February — therefore before the marriage of his daughter Judith with Thomas Quyney, instead of after it. Hence we might infer, if the will were made in contemplation of death, that Shakespeare's illness was of longer duration than has been hitherto supposed. Every body who has followed Malone's biography has fallen into Malone's error.

I have rarely opened and read (for the commentators seem often to have opened without reading) a book of about the age of Shakespeare, without finding something more or less to illustrate his productions. You know the lines in the first scene of *Love's Labours Lost*,

> "Fat paunches have lean pates, and dainty bits
> Make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits."

Looking over a not very rare work, *Paroemiologia Anglo-latina*, or "Proverbs, English and Latine,"

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&c., by John Clarke, 1639, 12mo., I met with what shows the preceding couplet to have been proverbial:

> "Fat paunches make leane pates, and grosser bits
> Enrich the ribs, but bankerupt quite the wits."—p. 135.

and farther on (p. 192) we have "Fat paunches and leane pates." In the same volume we have "Much ado about nothing," "All's well that ends well," and "To take your ease in your inn," which were proverbial long before the time of Shakespeare; but there is one saying, where Hamlet is named, which I cannot understand; it is this:

> "A trout, Hamlet, with four legs."—p. 71.

Can it have any reference to the scene between Hamlet and Polonius (Act III. Sc. 2), where the latter humours the prince by saying that a cloud is like a camel, a weasel, or whale? Has it been some absurd interpolation of the players, substituting "trout" for "whale?" is it from the older *Hamlet*, or has it nothing whatever to do with either play? These may appear trifles, and so they are in themselves; but I repeat that I consider nothing a trifle which in any way bears upon Shakespeare and his works.

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